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## THE NORTH SLESWIC QUESTION.

### A FORTY YEARS' WAR.

IN a struggle between races, as between individuals, it is not always easy for the disinterested observer to find the proper point of view from which to estimate the relative merits of the opposing claims advanced by the two contestants. With cool impartiality to place in their just relations the humanitarian impulses born of a natural sympathy with the weaker and those considerations of ulterior end forcing themselves upon the judicious mind, has ever been a difficult task. No nation at war with a neighbor, whatever the bone of contention, has enjoyed the moral support of an undivided public opinion in the world at large.

Great Britain in her campaign against the Boer republics is a case in point. An evident disposition among broad-minded people generally to view with favor the theory of her champions, that an extension of the English dominion in South Africa would mean a corresponding advancement of the best interests of civilization, was met by a strong undercurrent of skepticism, not wholly confined to quarters hereditarily hostile, as to whether even factories and schoolhouses, built up on the ruins of a nation's freedom, might not be bought too dearly. This lack of enthusiasm in applauding their aim, and their means of pursuing it, has undoubtedly been a source of surprise to those English

statesmen who fondly fancied that the ethical loftiness of their motives was beyond impeachment.

On the other hand, the bands of Boer farmers fighting to the last ditch for their existence as an independent people have had difficulty in understanding the apparent apathy with which their fate was being watched by the outside world. Panegyrics on their valor, as harangues against their foes, there have been enough and to spare; substantial, whole-souled support there has been next to none. No voice of weight was ever raised, entreatingly, threateningly, in their behalf—even in countries where their sympathizers were in avowed majority and a determined, intelligently directed public opinion might have compelled the governments to act.

So hopelessly involved are often questions of right and wrong; so scrupulously slow, so languidly fair, is the average man in reaching a conviction; so discouragingly reluctant to stake anything on it when reached.

But even where the case seems clear beyond a shadow of doubt, and the injustice too palpable for argument, the moral forces of humanity move with measured gait. There is a supply of indignation ready at hand for such contingencies, which is generously drawn upon for immediate consumption; the columns of the press flow over with it; it is voiced by eloquent orators in meetings of protest; resolutions of sympathy are passed with acclamation; messages of good cheer are dispatched to the sufferers. But the channels of the public conscience are clogged with calculations; in the crucible of popular sentiment the reddest wrath soon pales into pink compassion. The wrongdoer, noting with equanimity the distant rumblings and the thunderbolts lost in the sand, emerges from his shelter when the storm has blown over; and pursues his path, serenely.

So timid at initiative is the collective man, so ever-ready to count the cost, so fearful lest his love for the loser lose him the good-will of the winner; so potent are yet considerations of expediency in twentieth-century international relations.

In the face of these facts, what hope of more than a patient hearing has the native of a small state, robbed and wronged,

pleading the cause of his country before a court of equity composed of the intelligent men and women of a friendly and fair-minded but far-away nation? What will his appeal avail? A world that saw Armenia bleed and stood by in silent horror fearing the complications intercession might engender; that hears the wails of the homeless hosts of Roumanian Jews driven from place to place like hordes of cattle, and has no word of censure for their persecutors;<sup>1</sup> that placidly wends its way while the air is rent by the manly protest of outraged Finland, and the groans of starving Russian peasants being shot down like dogs for demanding a share in the soil they tilled and the grain they grew — will the moral sense of this enlightened world, when once aroused from its lethargy, prevail to stem the tide of iniquity surging out over the lands from the seats of power and engulfing in its muddy maelstrom so much that were worth preserving? What use — one might reason — of arguing before a jury where, no matter what the evidence, a verdict is rarely reached, and, reached, never enforced? Public opinion is an unreliable watchman whom it takes a constant supply of stimulants to keep awake; who cries "Fire!" at a shooting star, but tranquilly drowns at his post while the block is ablaze, dreaming it is only that neighboring wall the ruin of which — the Roman poet to the contrary notwithstanding — he considers no concern of yours.

But it *is* your concern.

The problem of the small state — if a problem it is bound to become — will be solved according to the law of the survival of the fittest. The small state itself worthy to survive is willing that it should. Put on trial for its right to independent existence, it will not ask for allowances on the score of its size; nor is it apt to preface its plea with an apology to those of bigger

<sup>1</sup> Since this was written, Secretary Hay's note to the powers, protesting against the treatment by Roumania of her Jewish population, has stirred up the European hornets' nest. If this plucky act should be devoid of practical results, nobody is likely to be disappointed. International jealousies are yet too rampant to lend to such a step by a disinterested government, however powerful, any other than a moral significance in setting a precedent and pointing the way. It is, however, to be hoped that Mr. Hay will not confine his efforts to third-class powers, but next time will go for bigger game.

bulk. "Fitness" and "bigness" are not synonymous terms, and the decision of the battlefield is not always the judgment of history. If in individual existences notable achievements are conditioned to a degree upon physical vigor, an analogy cannot without modification be applied to the life of nations. True, the nation numerically weak and of limited material resources will seldom be found in the van of conquerors—oftener in the wake of colonists; its military prowess will cause little trepidation around the camp-fires of an armed world; in the field of industrial and commercial rivalry it is not likely to take the lead, and the enterprises of its citizens may appear modest indeed measured with the gauge of a Morgan or a Rockefeller. But in the appraisal of life's values there are other standards than those expressed in terms of square miles and billion-dollar trusts. There is no inherent reason why a small people might not excel in the pursuits of peace, and within its narrow boundaries not only enjoy a healthy national life and economic prosperity, but also attain to the topmost rung on the ladder of culture. Territorial restrictions present no barrier to the thoughts of the thinker or the songs of the singer; numerical limitations do not restrain the hand that wields the chisel or the operating knife. Its line of defense will follow the furrow of plow and keel; and over against cannon and conquests and colonies over the sea—every citizen a soldier and every sword the king's—it will set the silent battles of library and laboratory, the peaceful victories of pen and brush—every man in his workshop and every tool his own.

My neighbor's wall afire *is* my affair. A wrong perpetrated against any member of the sisterhood of nations, the weakest not excepted, *is* the concern of all, the strongest included. No validity can be attached to the argument that this is but a special plea for the adjustment of troubles of a purely local nature, of little interest and less import to the outside world. To the extent that any nation has contributed to the sum-total of human progress in the realms of mind and matter, to that extent it has made all mankind its debtor, and any transgression against its integrity or its particular national culture becomes a crime against

civilization in general, and as such the business of the whole civilized world, which it cannot afford to ignore.

With the dawning of the twentieth century, and with the revival of the national principle everywhere, is it not time that steps be taken toward the cultivation of a conscious sense of solidarity among the best in every land, with the practical object in view of insisting upon the application to dealings of nations one with another of the common rules of fairness and justice governing the relations of man with man? International courts of arbitration may serve a useful purpose; undoubtedly they are a step in the right direction. But back of them, and above them, as the court of last resort from whose final decision there is no appeal, and whose dicta no ruler in the world dares to defy, must be this mighty fellow-feeling—the calm, watchful, unbribable sense of righteousness of the common people, led by those to whom they are wont to look for guidance.

## I. CONDITIONS IN SLESWIC.

### I. PRUSSIAN METHODS OF ASSIMILATION.

The causes leading up to the war of 1864, in which Denmark lost one-third of her territory, are ancient history and need not be rehearsed here. Allegedly a question of succession, when Prussia and her ally, Austria-Hungary, deemed it expedient to repudiate the London protocol of 1852, by the terms of which the present king of Denmark was made lawful heir to the whole Danish monarchy, the little kingdom found itself involved in a cruel struggle against two great powers and, abandoned by the other signatory governments, foredoomed to crushing defeat. After a six-months' campaign peace was concluded at Vienna. The three duchies of Sleswic, Holstein, and Lauenburg were the price exacted. Two years later, in 1866, the victors fell to quarreling over the booty, and by the peace of Prague Austria was forced to deed over her share to Prussia.

Of the conquered provinces, Holstein and Lauenburg were wholly German. No one in Denmark at the present day regrets their loss. In Sleswic the case was different. Out of a total population of 400,000, approximately three-fifths, inhabiting the

southern portion, were German in speech and sentiment, while the remaining two-fifths, or about 160,000, occupying the northern half, were of Danish language and nationality. It is these latter whose stubborn refusal to become Germans has given rise to what is known as "the North Sleswic, or Dano-German, question."

If the existence of such a question has hitherto escaped the notice of a great majority of the American people, the reasons are not far to seek. In the first place, there is an obvious lack of direct connection between the interests uppermost in the average American mind, and conditions and events in far-off, politically insignificant Denmark. Whatever surplus capital the United States have had to invest in international philanthropies has thus far found ready takers nearer home. Secondly, at the time when Denmark succumbed to the joint attack of Prussia and Austria, things of momentous significance were happening in this country, eclipsing in their colossal proportions any contemporaneous event in other parts of the world. The stronger for her trial, America forgave and forgot; Denmark, mutilated and forgotten, was left by the wayside bleeding. And, thirdly, a controversy the origin of which lies back of the memory of most living men must possess elements of an exceptional quality to keep its existence fresh in the consciousness of a later generation. A mere handful of Dutch farmers holding out for years against the concentrated forces of a world-empire, in addition to the other odds, have had to battle against a waning interest among those at the outset having their cause at heart. The soldier who made a world resound with his battlecry must take heed to fall in the first round, lest he outlive his own renown. Daily bulletins from the field of war announcing a stereotyped half-dozen killed and a score put *hors de combat* are liable to prove dull reading in the long run, unless occasionally relieved by performances on a more generous scale. How, then, can a struggle of forty long years' standing; a ceaseless, monotonous strife, where nothing happens from day to day to stir the enthusiasm of the onlooker; a combat between silent armies, with no victors to cheer, no vanquished to bemoan, no renegades to jeer; a bloodless battle royal of rival sentiments—how

can such a struggle hope to hold the attention of a busy world?

And yet, is there not in this very nature of the fight something to appeal to all thinking people? Is not this little army of Danes heroically struggling to maintain their nationality against the combined governmental and cultural forces of powerful Germany entitled to the remembrance and sympathy of liberal America?

During the first few years after 1864 the conquerors treated the alien population of the subjugated province with a fair degree of leniency. Through the instrumentality of Napoleon III., who since his Italian campaign was looked to in Europe as the foremost champion of the national principle, a clause had been inserted into the Treaty of Prague making the people of North Sleswic arbiters of their own fate.<sup>1</sup> Prince Bismarck, in a speech before the Prussian lower house in December, 1866—repeated later in the North German Reichstag—with direct reference to Sleswic voiced his unqualified assent to this principle in the following terms:

I have ever been of the opinion that a population which in indubitable manner and constantly evinces a determination not to be Prussian or German, but desires nationally to belong to an immediately adjacent state, does not add to the strength of the power from which it strives to separate itself.

And again in 1873, at a reception given by the prince—then chancellor—to members of the Reichstag, he addressed these words to the sole representative from North Sleswic, who had reminded him of the treaty rights of his constituents and the desirability of an early settlement: "Yes, you are right; I am entirely of your opinion. Persevere in your fight!"

How much sincerity may be attributed to these utterances by the astute politician is perhaps open to doubt. In this "man of blood and iron" there was not lacking a vein of bloody irony, strangely contrasting with the almost brutal frankness so domi-

<sup>1</sup>"His majesty the emperor of Austria transfers to his majesty the king of Prussia all his . . . claims to the duchies of Holstein and Sleswic, with the stipulation that the populations of the northern districts of Sleswic are to be ceded to Denmark, if they by a free vote manifest a desire to be united with Denmark" (Treaty of Prague, Art. V).



nant a trait in his character, and which found eloquent expression on numerous occasions. To a deputation of Holsteinians visiting him at Friedrichsruh in 1895, when responsibilities of office no longer sealed his lips, he openly confessed that the war against Denmark had been of long preparation, and that he as leading statesman in regard to Sleswic and Holstein had always been actuated by the principle that "that must we have!"

However that may be—whether there in Prussian government circles at that time actually existed a disposition to redeem the pledge of 1866, or whether assimilation was thought to be more quickly attained by conciliatory means—at any rate, during the first decade or so there prevailed a condition comparatively free from the harsh methods characteristic of a later period. Trusting to a speedy reunion with the mother-country, a large proportion of the population (at the present time numbering about 20,000) had taken advantage of an agreement between Prussia and Denmark guaranteeing to all announcing their intention prior to 1870 the privilege of retaining their Danish subjectivity, though domiciled in Sleswic, thereby, of course, barring themselves from all participation in public affairs; while the majority of the young men, in order to escape Prussian military service, emigrated to the United States or Denmark. The danger of this policy, from a national point of view, had not yet become apparent to a people who, despite their inborn antipathy for Germany and the Germans, did not hesitate to place confidence in their good faith as a nation.

This confidence was, however, doomed to disappointment. In the year 1878 the covenant of Prague was emended by the contracting parties, Germany and Austria-Hungary, and Art. V, solemnly sworn to and signed by the rulers of the two countries "in the name of the most holy and indivisible Trinity," was unceremoniously stricken from the statute books. In the intervening twelve years official Germany had revised her code of international ethics. Ideas of national honor had been subordinated to ideals of territorial grandeur. The reawakened spirit of German unity, bewailing the fate of compatriots, severed from the parent stem, in Austria and Baltic Russia, felt no compunc-

tion over the enforced presence within the confines of the empire of large non-German, antagonistic elements. These, according to the German theory, ought to be grateful for the opportunity afforded them of becoming sharers in the reflected glories of Germany's great past and greater future. If they were foolish enough to stand in their own light by refusing to fuse, they must be crushed.

As the Danes in North Sleswic showed not the slightest sign of gratitude nor of inclination to yield, "crush" from now on became the watchword of the local Prussian authorities, inspired from headquarters at Berlin.

Of that which characterizes a nation and distinguishes it from any other, language is at once a principal constituent and the truest expression. Two peoples may originally speak the same tongue; they may be closely allied racially, occupying adjoining territories; or the one may be an offshoot of the other. Under the influence of different climatic, economic, and social conditions, modifications of speech will gradually appear, which in time may develop into a distinct idiom. Germany and Holland, Denmark and Sweden, are examples of the first class; England, in relation to her colonies and to the United States, of the latter. On the other hand, two or more separate languages, belonging to ethnically separate groups welded into a political unit, may be used side by side, on terms of the fullest equality, within the limits of one, even small, state, the community of interests being a bond sufficiently strong to hold the heterogeneous elements together. Austria-Hungary, or, still better, Belgium, may serve as an illustration of this type. But a conquered nation, or part of a nation, possessing a culture essentially different from that of its oppressor, cannot abandon its language and hope to retain its national individuality. Its language is the bulwark, the very corner-stone, of its civilization, the life-blood of its existence as a people. That dead, its struggle for survival is hopeless. The conqueror who, by fair means or foul, succeeds in imposing his language upon a defeated population has more than half won his game.

In North Sleswic both victor and vanquished realized from

the beginning that here was the ground upon which the decisive battle must be fought. Hence, when the Prussian masters had made up their minds to keep the spoils, regardless of treaties, and make Sleswic an organic part of their state, their every effort was bent toward suppressing the Danish mother-tongue of the inhabitants. That these voluntarily should become Germans there was no prospect. Consequently they must be forced, first to learn, then to speak, and finally—it was hoped—think *in* German. This accomplished, it was held to be a question of only a comparatively short time when they would learn to think *as* Germans.

The first step toward this goal had been the exclusion of Danish from the churches, schools, and courts in districts of a mixed population, and the substitution of German, which a large percentage of the people did not understand. This was followed, in 1871, by a decree making instruction in German, to the extent of six hours weekly, compulsory in the schools of the purely Danish districts. In 1878—the year of the annulment of Art. V—this number was further increased to fourteen hours. At the same time all private Danish secondary schools were closed throughout the province, and an administrative order was promulgated making it obligatory upon all Prussian citizens to have their children taught in Prussian schools. Danish parents wishing to give their children a fuller knowledge of their mother-tongue were compelled either to keep private tutors, whose German qualifications must first be passed upon by the authorities, or, at the end of the public-school age, send them to Denmark for a complementary education.

Finally, in 1888, the time allotted to Danish in the schools was reduced to four hours' weekly religion. All other instruction was henceforth to be in German. The employment of tutors, still formally permissible, was made practically impossible through a multitude of ingenious obstacles devised by the local officials.

This is the condition obtaining at present in the schools of North Sleswic. Not only has Danish absolutely ceased to be taught as such, but, with the exception of these four hours of cate-

chism—and even they have recently been abolished in a large number of schools—utterly banished as a medium of instruction. All questions and answers must be given in German; all conversation must be carried on in German; German are the lessons set the children for home preparation; German the themes—German praise of German deeds, German hymns to German heroes. And that to children whose parents understand no other language than Danish, and in whose homes not a word of any other was ever spoken!

Scarcely better have the churches fared. The clergy are an imported flock, trained in the German universities, utterly out of touch with the people to whose spiritual wants they are supposed to minister; barely able to understand their language, mutilating it beyond recognition from their pulpits. Officially, Danish is yet the ecclesiastical language of the northernmost districts, where the pastor himself and his family, and the schoolmaster and his, are often the only German sympathizers found in the parish. If this German minority, however—through the addition, say, of the personnel of a new local branch of the state railway—encouraged by the authorities, grows sufficiently confident to get up a petition for the partial or complete replacement of Danish by German as the language of the church, it is always sure of a favorable hearing. In one instance, of a community in which only 2 per cent. of the population spoke German, upon the inspired petition of these 2 per cent., Danish was entirely excluded from the church. Wherever Prussian administrators have a chance to promote at the same time the interests of religion and patriotism, they are never found wanting.

As a result the prelate preaches to empty pews. The population, by tradition and training strongly religious, has been thrown upon its own resources for the satisfaction of its needs in that direction. Long lines of carriages Sunday after Sunday darken the highways leading to Denmark. But many of those who cannot travel the distance have banded together into free congregations, built their own meeting-houses, and appointed their own pastors. Though perfectly legal, this proceeding has always incurred the displeasure of the authorities, who throw all

sorts of obstacles in the way. The strictest police surveillance is maintained during the meetings. On some pretext or other—that the formalities of law have not been complied with, that “politics” is being discussed, etc.—the churches are arbitrarily closed, sometimes for years, and the pastors enjoined from officiating at any religious function, while the “case” is being tried back and forth in all the courts of the empire. When at last a supreme-court decision unbars the door, a policeman in uniform is stationed on the inside throughout the services, noting the names of those present and the words spoken, from the platform and between man and man—for future reference.

This police espionage and persecution have gradually assumed forms the bare mention of which ought to be enough to arouse the indignation of all liberty-loving persons. The population is harassed in every conceivable manner. No annoyance seems too petty, no trick too mean, to gratify the officious arrogance of these excrescences on the great Prussian body politic. True, they often act on their own initiative, without the knowledge or consent of their superiors, who repeatedly have disavowed their acts when brought to their notice. But wherever the establishment of one’s plainest rights, in the everyday affairs of life, involves no end of administrative red tape, or prolonged and costly litigations in court, a final vindication is often a Pyrrhus victory that many can ill afford. This fact, of which the subordinate police officials are well aware, only serves to render them the more overbearing.

A few illustrations, selected at random, and which could be multiplied *ad infinitum*, may serve to indicate the methods by which it is sought to inspire an unappreciative populace in North Sleswic with awe and admiration for its German masters :

It is forbidden to sing Danish songs of patriotic content, not only in public and in open air, but in one’s own home. This ban has lately been extended to embrace songs by Norwegian authors. At gatherings of a strictly private character, such as weddings or birthday parties, a police eavesdropper will station himself under the windows and arrest anyone found guilty of this offense. Defendants are fined for talking Danish in court,

whether or not they understand the language in which the charges against them are being preferred. Actors from Denmark cannot obtain permission to produce their plays—even vaudevilles of the most harmless sort—on North Sleswic stages, and are expelled if they do not, immediately upon their arrival, report to the police. The same fate is in store for Danish lecturers, no matter what their topics—literary or religious. A lecture on the sun and planets announced by a Sleswic man was prohibited by the local magistrate on the ground that the stereopticon views by which it was to be illustrated might present pictures of Danish persons and landscapes!

Entrance is forced into meetings of agricultural or charitable societies, and the audience dispersed without explanation, or on the pretense that the assemblage has a “political” character. Sometimes the hall is closed, the organization forcibly dissolved, and its papers carried off, in which case it takes a lawsuit to reopen. When the “political” proclivities of the gathering are only suspected, all women are chased out of the room, the guardians of Prussia’s public morals considering it their province to suppress with severity any incipient desire on the part of the fair sex to cultivate an interest in affairs of state.

The flying of the Danish flag is, of course, interdicted. But a man may not even paint his fence-posts or his weathercock in the Danish colors (red and white). A red-and-white emblem on a book-cover will subject the whole edition to confiscation. Red and white flowers cannot with impunity be put on a family grave in the cemetery. Even a conspicuous preference for these shades in one’s dress is regarded as an act of treason.

Parents have been fined for refusing to let their children attend the special services held in all Prussian schools on the anniversary of the battle at Sedan, in commemoration of the German victory over the French. A fine has been imposed for the illumination of the windows in a private residence in honor of some Danish celebration; another on an editor for announcing in his paper that “today is King Christian’s birthday”—without adding the words “of Denmark.” A farm hand of Danish sympathies called a German swineherd a “swine king”—

a common epithet in Sleswic — for which he was sentenced to two years' imprisonment for — *lèse majesté* against Emperor William !

It is deemed "grave disorder" (*grober Unfug*), and is subject to heavy penalties, publicly to use the name "South Jutland" (Sönderjylland) in connection with Sleswic. This is the ancient Danish name for the province, still predominantly employed in Denmark in lieu of "Sleswic" (Slesvig). Since time immemorial the Cimbrian peninsula has politically been divided into North Jutland and South Jutland, this latter appellation thus having ample historical as well as geographical justification. But woe to the writer who forgets himself to the extent of using it in print, even in quotations, thereby suggesting a connection — if only one of relative location — between the two divisions that fails to take account of the present political affiliation of the southern half !

The climax of this remarkable phase of modern assimilative endeavors was reached after Herr von Köller, in the summer of 1897, had been appointed governor of the province of Sleswic-Holstein. This typical Prussian *Junker*, whose notions of the relations of rulers and ruled had been cast in the mediæval, feudalistic mold, and who regarded his administrative domain as a special fief he held from his war-lord, to whom alone he was responsible, found in North Sleswic an inviting field for the working out of his patriarchal theories. Sizing up the situation, he pronounced the methods hitherto pursued for the extirpation of the Danish nationality too slow and inefficacious, and inaugurated what he was pleased to term "the policy of the firm hand" (*die Politik der festen Hand*).

As mentioned above, after the conclusion of peace in 1864 the majority of the population had chosen to become Prussian citizens, thereby acquiring the right of suffrage and in every other respect being placed, juridically, upon the same footing as other subjects of the crown. By this means they hoped to be enabled to carry on a more successful war of defense. A considerable number had, however, refused to take the oath of allegiance and, as Danish subjects, had retained their domicile in Sleswic. Although the exact legal status of these latter has never been

clearly defined, and they have been compelled to lead a sort of amphibious existence as neither fowl nor fish, it had always been understood that they were to be left at liberty unmolestedly to pursue their vocations as long as they did not violate any of the laws of the realm and rigidly abstained from giving public expression to their national sympathies.

Governor von Köller, determined to please his imperial master with more tangible results than had up to that time been attained, early in his régime turned his attention to these resident "foreigners." Unable to punish Prussian citizens for speaking and voting Danish, he retaliated by originating an ingenious scheme, according to which, upon the principle of vicarious punishment, the "optants," as the Danish subjects are styled, were to be made to suffer for the perversity of their neighbors.

The period of expulsions was at hand—a bloodless reign of terror, where innocent, law-abiding people, without process of law and without warning, with forty-eight hours' notice were evicted from the homes that had been their families' for generations, and under police guard sent across the frontier, often to economic ruin, for no fault of theirs, but because a brother or a friend had voted the Danish ticket, or made a speech before a Danish audience, or participated in an excursion to Denmark.

These drastic measures were made to include also the hired help on the farms—inoffensive boys and girls from Denmark crossing over for a season or two and returning when their time had expired. Few, if any, remain and settle in Sleswic permanently. Nevertheless, they were expelled in bulk, on the plea of "burdensomeness" (*Lästigkeit*), and as being "a danger to the security of the Prussian state"!

Two objects were aimed at by this policy. It was thought, in the first place, that this threat, constantly hanging over the heads of the people, of the expulsion of members of their families or of servants, would intimidate them into a more submissive attitude; and, on the other hand, that the vacated places would be occupied by immigrated Germans, thus forcing from the south into the solid front of recalcitrant Danes that entering wedge



which in time would wax strong enough to split their ranks. If they could neither be won over nor be subdued, they might be replaced. A Danish buyer for a farm whose owner had been expelled would, it was believed, be hard to find. So many young men having emigrated, there was a dearth of youth in the land. Naturally, Danes from the kingdom were not anxious, under existing circumstances, to throw their lots with their Sleswic brethren; even if they were willing, it would be an easy matter to hit upon means of preventing them. Consequently, von Köller reasoned, the deserted homesteads must go by default to German purchasers, aided by the special government fund held in readiness for just such contingencies.

Similarly in regard to servants. By practically making it impossible to keep Danish help, employers must be thrown back upon the German supply. And the theory—not devoid of a certain degree of plausibility—was that the daily contact, especially of the children, with German-speaking people in their own homes must needs produce beneficial results—directly by furthering the understanding and use of the German tongue, indirectly by breaking the point off the bitter national antagonism in relations of mutual dependence.

However, as will be seen later on, von Köller reckoned without his host.

But the end was not yet. There remained to be put into effect one measure the nature of which was such as to evoke a storm of indignant protests, not only in North Sleswic and Denmark, but as far as the echo was heard—even in Germany herself. This was von Köller's assault upon the parental right. As has been stated, Danish parents are in the habit of sending their children, past public-school age, to Denmark to complete their education. This means of keeping alive Danish language and sentiment, in the opinion of the governor, tended to counteract his Germanizing efforts. He therefore resolved that it must be stopped. Parents were warned to withdraw their children from the Danish schools under penalty of heavy fines, the deprivation of their educational rights, and the appointment of German guardians for their sons and daughters.

Of course, the request was flatly refused. The whole population arose as one man in defense of a principle so vital to all as freemen and as Danes. Herr von Köller—possibly realizing that he had gone a step too far, and foreseeing ultimate defeat in the higher courts; or perhaps also acting upon a suggestion from Berlin, where the matter had been aired in spirited sessions of the representative bodies—soon, however, dropped this feature of his scheme, and reverted to the safer method of banishment.

The expulsions continued unabated as long as he filled the gubernatorial chair. To a deputation having the temerity to ask him why and for how long this war was being waged he gave, in substance, this characteristic answer: "I want peace; but peace on my terms, not on yours. Stop your agitation; dissolve your organizations; keep quiet! Do as I say, and the expulsions will cease; if not, the war will go on." His terms were not accepted, and the war went on.

In 1901 von Köller's services for the aggrandizement of his fatherland were rewarded by his promotion to the governorship of Alsace-Lorraine, where the French are now presumably being initiated into the mysteries of the "policy of the fist." Under his successor, Herr von Wilmowski, relative quiet has hitherto prevailed in Sleswic, occasionally interrupted by a few sporadic cases of expulsion. That the present incumbent is in fullest accord with the spirit and methods of his predecessor there can, however, be little doubt. Modern German aggressiveness is not apt to retrace its steps. The whole in last analysis resolves itself into a question of expediency. The temporary lull may at any moment give place to a renewed outbreak of the storm. Ill-boding clouds are still lowering in the horizon. In the meantime the army of defenders is sleeping on its shields.

## II. THE POPULAR RESPONSE.

Turning now briefly to this little army of a hundred and fifty thousand farmers—what, and whence derived, are its means for carrying on the unequal struggle?

A potent factor throughout the campaign has been the closeness of the relations with Denmark. It is hardly an exaggera-

tion to say that every Sleswic family has kindred across the frontier. Common memories of common defeats have served to tighten this bond. To most Danes the wound is as yet an open and a painful one, and there is naturally a strong desire on their part to alleviate the burdens and keep up the spirits of their expatriated countrymen. As will readily be understood, the Danish government, as such, can do little or nothing toward that end. But private initiative, with hands unshackled, has rendered generous moral and material assistance.

This aid has taken manifold forms, determined by the exigencies of the situation. Frequent excursions to various parts of the kingdom are arranged on a large scale, in which thousands of Sleswicians take part; or open-air meetings, with speakers of national or Scandinavian reputation, are held just north of the frontier to make them the easier of access. Libraries containing the best of Scandinavian literature are distributed throughout Sleswic from the central offices at Copenhagen; and numerous scholarships are annually awarded to Sleswic young men and women in Danish secondary schools, or their tuitions paid by associations formed for this and like purposes in scores of towns in Denmark.

Another important agent is the ably conducted press. Under conditions difficult to appreciate in a country like America which enjoys an almost unlimited freedom of speech, a small band of intrepid journalists ply their laborious trade in this specially guarded corner of police-ridden Prussia, where the activities of the press are circumscribed by a multitude of censorial restrictions strongly suggestive of Russian conditions and enforced by a staff of eager magistrates. But trifling vexations and patent partialities only enhance their zeal. Pursued right and left—paying out his subscriptions in fines and court costs for hazarding a modest doubt as to the superhuman impartiality of some local interpreter of the law, or for expressing an opinion of some public act of a self-important official at variance with that gentleman's own estimation of its dignity; being at the same time daily defamed by his German competitors whose valued prerogative seems to imply a liberty of libel against any

Danish "traitor," and whose fine, if it is deemed worth while to try to dampen their patriotic ardor, is remitted by the emperor ; spending half of his time in German jails serving sentences for treason and *lèse majesté*, while his assistants and his printers, who happen to be Danish subjects, are expelled—the path of the Danish editor in Sleswic is not strewn with roses. As an offset he is given the most loyal support by the people whose cause he so courageously champions. The positions of honor and trust are for the greater part filled by newspapermen. Recently the editor of the leading Danish paper—Mr. Jessen, of the *Flensborg Avis*—who between 1886 and 1899 spent an aggregate of forty-five months in prison, was rewarded with the highest gift within the bestowal of his constituents by being chosen as their representative in the German Parliament.

Among the means adopted by a weaker force for defending itself against the encroachments of a stronger, coalition has come to be recognized as one of the most effective. The maxim that "in union is strength" has been universally accepted in modern democracies. North Sleswic early was awake to the necessity of fortifying its position in accordance with this principle. Associations of every kind—educational, financial, agricultural, charitable, political—were formed and ramified throughout the district. At a time when almost all the young men left the land, and help as a consequence became increasingly hard to get, while prices arose correspondingly, a remedy was sought in co-operation. Producers' and consumers' societies largely superseded private enterprise. Under the leadership of men from Denmark, where this form of modern industrial evolution has reached its highest perfection, this movement has within recent years made rapid progress. When during von Köller's reign the expulsion of the hired men from the farms rendered the crisis acute, this centralization of energy, with its attendant reduction to a minimum of operating costs, enabled the population to endure with comparative ease the economic stringencies flowing from the abnormal political conditions. Von Köller's command to "pacify" was met by the response: "Organize!" In every walk of life forced to self-help, the people emerged from the

trial economically, as well as politically, more mature, united, and self-reliant. Thus the Prussian government indirectly contributed to their social education.

In the meantime the emigration of the young had practically ceased. Sons no longer left their fathers to struggle on alone, till death relieved them and German intruders took possession of the ancestral farms. The suicidal effects of this policy had been forcibly brought home by the constant decrease in the Danish vote. Those who in earlier years had preferred a sunnier life in free Denmark or freer America could not return; when they did—if only on a few days' visit to their parents—they were immediately arrested and escorted back over the border. But, beginning in the early eighties, an ever-increasing number of the young men decided to remain at home, don the Prussian uniform, and in time fill the gaps in the ranks. After two years' military servitude in some far-off garrison they returned the better Danes for their experience in the barracks. Soon the polls began to tell of a turning of the tide; the period of retrogression was at an end. Von Köller's frankly avowed replacement plan tended further to stimulate this determination; and thus again he helped to defeat his own end.

Besides the local battlefield, where the weapons have been suggested by and adapted to the conditions of the struggle, there is another arena where the same war is being carried on upon different, though scarcely more favorable, terms. This is the legislative halls at Berlin, where the three representatives from North Sleswic year after year incessantly toll the bell of national toleration before a drowsy German conscience.

Danish Sleswic is represented in the Reichstag by but a single member. So adroitly have the electoral districts been "gerrymandered" that, although the Danish votes at the first election (1867) in the new province to the parliament of the North German Federation outnumbered the German in the whole of Sleswic by 25,598 to 24,664, only one Danish candidate was elected to three German. This ratio has been maintained ever since. In the lower house of the Prussian Landtag two seats are occupied by Danes.

The position of these three members is in many respects a unique and a difficult one. Until 1882 the two Landtag representatives declined to take the oath of the Prussian constitution prescribed by the regulations of that body. As long as Art. V was still in existence, and there was prospect of a speedy solution of the national problem, they would not weaken their attitude by the theoretical recognition of Sleswic's incorporation into the Prussian state which such an act would be interpreted to imply. As a consequence they were denied the privilege of participating in the debates of the chamber. In the Reichstag, on the other hand, the one member let slip no opportunity of vigorously demanding justice for his constituents.

With the abrogation of Art. V the situation was at one stroke altered. All hope of a quick settlement now had to be abandoned. The struggle threatened to become long and obdurate. Judging it unwise to jeopardize the material interests of their districts by a continuation of the "policy of the empty chairs," without voice or vote in their own affairs, the Landtag members, with the approval of a majority of their electors, decided to change their tactics of passive protest, and took the oath.

To those at all familiar with the composition of the parliamentary bodies in the German capital the precariousness of the position of a couple of members, without direct party affiliation, the sole burden of whose one and oft-repeated message is a demand for considerate treatment of a small but troublesome element of irritation within the state organism, is obvious beyond need of explanation. Liberal Germany, so conspicuous and wholesome an influence in the domains of science and abstract thought, and so stanch a defender of individual rights in the daily rounds of private life, is a negligible quantity in the Kaiser's law-making assemblies, and the more so in his advisory councils. Political Germany has not kept pace with cultural or commercial Germany. The liberal parties in the Reichstag, and still more in the class-elected Landtag, are numerically weak and split up into a number of factions. By effecting a union of all the conservative groups an impregnable government majority is secured for all reactionary measures, at whose hands any

advocate of leniency or considerateness toward the alien populations receives but scant courtesy. Every complaint, however well founded, is met with a shoulder-shrug; every recital of wrongs actually wrought, however crying, is brushed aside with a sneer or a flat denial; appeals are drowned in a chorus of hisses and calls "To order!"

Not a concession—not a confession—has ever been wrenched from the rulers. If legislative results were the only norm, the faithful labors of the three Danes at Berlin must, indeed, be deemed a failure.

However, these debates forced upon the government, these interpellations that *must* be answered, serve one purpose which should not be lost sight of: they keep North Sleswic in the eyes of the world; they accentuate the determination of its people never to give in; they stimulate the political conscience of a slowly but surely growing number of Germans into an acknowledgment of the fact that true national greatness cannot be firmly founded on police power; and the echo reverberating across the frontier reminds a watchful public in Europe and America that here is one acute phase of a problem that is fast pressing for solution—the problem of the right of a stronger nation to oppress a weaker with a distinct but equal culture, and "assimilate" it by coercion and annihilation.

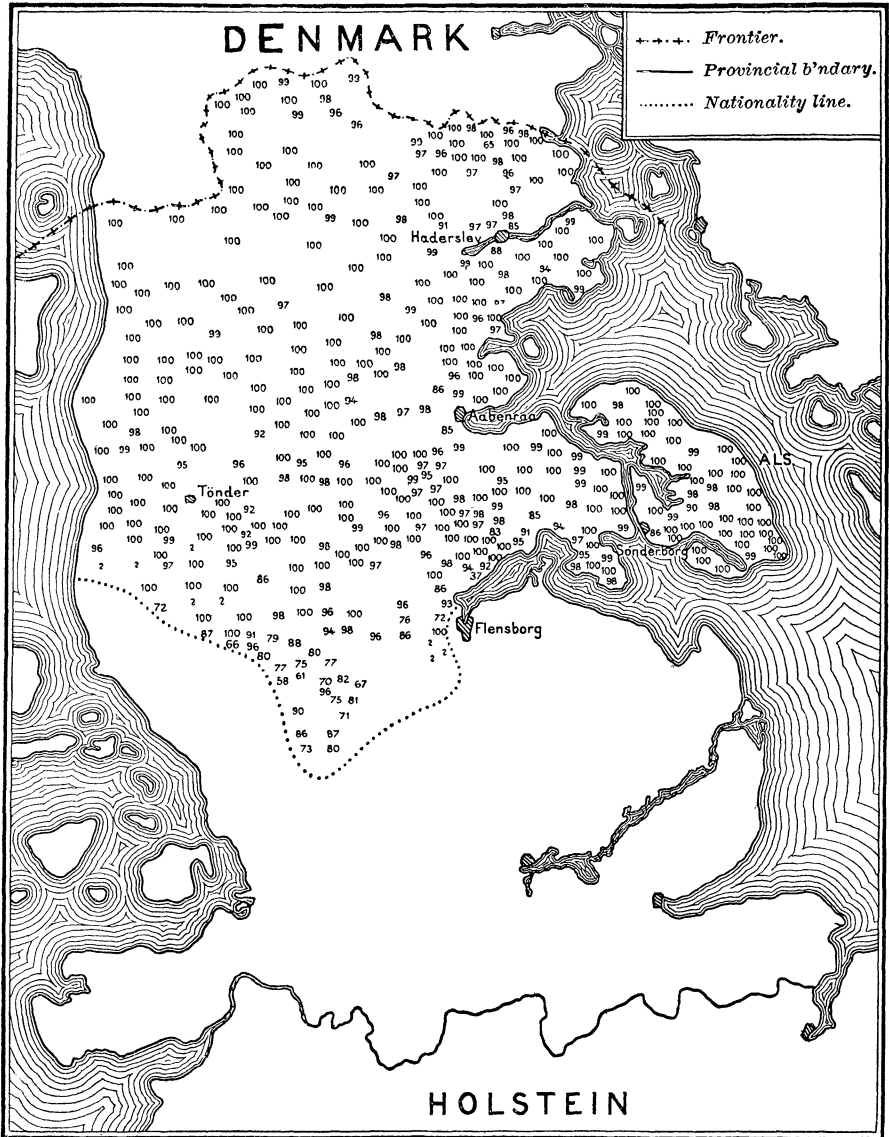
### III. RESULTS.

And what, now, have been the results of this forty-years' war—what the gains and what the losses? A hasty survey of the field will reveal the following facts:

There has been a constant influx of German elements into the towns—government officials with their retinues; military garrisons; tradesmen and shopkeepers dependent upon, or attracted by, these. Thus the slight Danish majority from the first period of the occupation has been changed into a slight German one in later years. Many workingmen of neutral national tint, who used to vote the Danish ticket as the politically more liberal one, have now definitively cast their lot with the Social Democratic party.

# MAP I.

SHOWING THE PERCENTAGES OF THE DANISH-SPEAKING RESIDENT  
POPULATION IN THE COMMUNES OF NORTH SLESWIC.





In the rural districts, on the contrary, Danish language and sentiment have practically held their own. The accompanying map<sup>1</sup>—the figures of which are based upon a house-to-house canvass undertaken in the early nineties, and, it is presumed, have not since been subject to any appreciable change—shows the percentage of the Danish *resident* population in the different communes of North Sleswic. Little comment is necessary: barring the fluctuating official class—the minister and the schoolmaster, the policeman and the station-master, who all owe their appointment, directly or indirectly, to the government—parish upon parish, after these forty years of relentless persecution, presents an unbroken 100 per cent. of Danish-speaking people. Against the solid front of these rugged, determined farmers the blandishments and intimidations of a resourceful Prussian officialdom have availed naught.

Out of a population of 143,000 in 1895, in North Sleswic proper, 8,000, including the official class, had German speech. Of every 1,000 families 4 native and 8 immigrated spoke German, 988 Danish. And it is a significant fact that the German immigrants in many instances are absorbed by the native population to the extent of adopting its language, in the second generation, in their daily intercourse. From natural causes the Danish nationality in Sleswic need have no fear of extinction. Left to themselves, German culture and language would never triumph over Danish. This is admitted by the Germans.

The following table is instructive regarding political conditions. It shows the number of votes cast on both sides in elections to the Reichstag 1871–98:

	1871	1874	1877	1878	1881	1884	1886	1887	1890	1893	1898
Danish	18,725	17,897	15,575	14,447	12,831	12,228	11,616	12,480	12,860	13,672	14,821
German	3,578	3,778	4,573	4,421	4,194	4,723	5,052	5,945	6,054	6,026	6,741

In estimating these figures the fact must be borne in mind that the population during all these years has remained practically stationary; also that the full Danish vote, owing to the

<sup>1</sup> This and the following map have been reproduced from *Haandbog i det nord-slesvigske Spørgsmaals Historie*, Copenhagen, 1901.

absolute German majority in two of the three districts embracing the disputed territory, is never polled. It will be observed, then, that, while the German column shows a steady, though slow, rise, the Danish vote constantly decreased down to 1886, when it reached its lowest level. As almost literally all sons of Danish parents had left home (the total emigration from North Sleswic 1867-90 amounted to 51,000), this result was bound to follow. The ranks of the older generation, by the natural course of human events, were gradually decimated; none there were to fill their places.

The year 1887 signalizes the turning of the tide. The young men, no longer shirking their responsibilities, were reaching the voting age. Every election since then marks a notable increase in the number of Danish votes, even relatively larger than that of the opponents. At a by-election held last spring to fill the vacancy caused by the death of the Danish representative in the Reichstag, the Danish vote, although on its face showing an actual diminution, virtually represented substantial progress, as the loss was considerably less than the number of names arbitrarily stricken off the registration lists on the eve of election, on the pretext that they belonged to persons whose Prussian citizenship was in doubt, although they had exercised their right of suffrage unchallenged for a number of years. "In this respect," writes *Kieler Zeitung* commenting on the result, "this newest phase of the 'policy of the firm hand' shows no progress." As a German estimate of the situation, this is not without interest.

## II. GERMAN APOLOGETICS.

In attempting to trace the line of reasoning pursued by German apologists of the policy of denationalization in North Sleswic, due account must be taken of the fact that this, politically speaking, is primarily an internal Prussian affair, for which the nation as a whole cannot justly be held responsible. This aspect has been repeatedly emphasized by politicians and writers refusing to be identified with Prussian administrative methods. As a natural outcome of their mode of election, the

legislative assemblies of Prussia cannot be said correctly to mirror the prevailing opinions of the electorate at large. From their overwhelming reactionary majority any voice being raised in behalf of liberalism in any form can count on little sympathy. The Reichstag, on the other hand, being the product of universal suffrage and representing all parts of the empire, might *a priori* be supposed to be more favorably disposed toward a consideration of interests other than those of an arrogant militarism.

As a matter of fact, weighty voices have from time to time been lifted in the halls of Parliament in denunciation of the Bismarck-Köller régime. The Polish and Alsatian representatives are the natural allies of their Danish colleague and can always be relied upon to furnish the signatures required for bringing a matter officially before the house. But also some of the German factions have not seldom been outspoken in their criticism of governmental measures touching Sleswic. The large Center, or Catholic, party, for instance, though never acting in unison in Sleswic affairs, has through the utterances and votes of many of its most prominent members often set the Protestant side an example in national tolerance. The Liberal (*Freisinnige*) groups, numerically weak, but notable for the individual quality of their membership, have likewise shown a decided disposition to go against the government in its treatment of the Sleswicians, and much warmth and sincerity of feeling have occasionally been displayed in their behalf. It is, however, to the Social Democrats, as being utterly and uncompromisingly opposed to the entire prevailing system of governmental oppression in any form, that the Danes more and more have come to look for sympathy and help. To them as a parliamentary faction they owe a large debt of gratitude for the substantial support rendered at critical moments, when the members of the Liberal *bourgeois* parties have wavered between their adherence to the traditional policy of the empire and their individual sense of justice, or for tactical reasons have hesitated.

Especially during the debates precipitated by the wholesale banishments in 1899 the administration was subjected to scathing criticism. Dr. Lieber, leader of the Centrists, expressed

as his conviction that nothing could be more fatal than the policy pursued by Prussia in her border provinces. He condemned the persecution of the mother-tongue of the Danes and branded the encroachments upon the parental rights as an injustice that cried to heaven.

Of the Liberals several spoke in the same vein. Dr. Hänel, professor of international law at the University of Kiel, denounced the whole policy since 1888 as absolutely unjustifiable, particularly the decree of that year limiting Danish in the schools to four hours; this measure, he said, was a grievous mistake which ought to be rectified. His colleague, Herr Lenzmann, declared that according to his "purely human feelings it was an unparalleled cruelty forcibly to deprive one of his mother-tongue, but that the cruelty became boundless when parents because of their national sentiments were robbed of that most sacred of rights — the right to educate their own children."

It was, however, left for Herr Liebknecht, the Socialist leader, to arraign the government in the severest terms. Recalling a remark by King William IV. of Prussia in 1847, that "the hatred between Danes and Germans was one of the greatest follies of the nineteenth century," he continued:

Conditions in North Sleswic are a shame for us Germans, not only in the eyes of Europe, but in those of the whole civilized world. A system which makes such things possible must be abolished by the German people, lest they perish as a nation. This is the first duty which they owe themselves. . . . Such a policy, the aim of which is oppression, is unworthy of Germany; it is a scandal. . . . Germany is strong enough to be just.

The Liberal press throughout the country echoed the same sentiments. Leading publicists and university men came forth and attacked the government's policy. It will be remembered how Professor Delbrück, of the University of Berlin, was severely punished for publishing an article in *Preussische Jahrbücher*, of which he is editor, in denunciation of its actions. For a while it seemed as though the North Sleswic question was on the point of entering a new stage — where from the administrative bureaus it would be transferred to the forum of public discussion.

But with the temporary lull in the evictions, public excitement, and consequently interest, soon subsided, without the temporary outburst of indignation having crystallized into tangible results.

For, after all, it may well be questioned whether the vast majority of the German people are not in fullest accord with the foreign policy of their rulers. Much goes to bear out this theory. Dazzled by the glitter of the arms that welded the national union, they are not as yet ready to emancipate themselves from the magnetism of the mailed fist that pointed out to them their "manifest destiny" as the world's greatest military power. The spirit of Bismarck is still hovering above the waters of Germany's national aspirations.

It is undoubtedly for reasons connected with this fact that, while the suppression of foreign nationalities within the borders of the empire is held to be perfectly justifiable—nay, commendable—the highest degree of sensitiveness prevails in regard to the treatment of German residents in other countries. The position of the Germans in Bohemia and the Russian Baltic provinces can in no wise be compared to that of the Danes in Sleswic or of the Poles in eastern Prussia. Yet the Germans' sense of justice is continually being outraged by the iniquities to which their foreign-ruled compatriots are declared to be subjected by their masters. The selfsame methods which in Sleswic are decried as "traitorous" are being employed, with official approval and support, in the propaganda for the perpetuation of German language and sentiment in Russia and Austria. According to this adjustable standard, a Sleswic man who refuses to join in a "*Hoch der Kaiser!*" is stigmatized as a "perjurer," while the German merchant of Prague who declines to change the inscription on his sign at the behest of a Czechish mob is hailed as a hero. What in Flensburg is styled "agitation" in Riga is proclaimed as martyrdom. The modern ideal of pan-Germanism is conceived of as comprising all Germans from everywhere plus so many non-Germans from anywhere as can comfortably be digested. The means adopted for furthering the digestive process seem relatively immaterial.

A German politician has called Art. V of the Prague treaty a mortgage issued to the Danish population of Sleswic, which cannot lawfully be canceled without the consent of its holders. About the result of a vote taken on national lines in Sleswic nobody has any doubt. But were Sleswic's fate made dependent upon a referendum of the general electorate of Germany today, with the question put as a choice between a diminution of territory and the redemption of a national word of honor, the scales, there is reason to fear, would sink in favor of holding on to what they have. "No foot of German soil," says Kaiser Wilhelm, "shall ever be ceded except over the bodies of my dead soldiers." That sort of sentiment still strikes a responsive chord in the breasts of millions of his subjects.

It is a fact, also—and one which Denmark might do well in taking *ad notam*—that of all the speakers and writers who in Germany of late years have condemned the Prussian administration of Sleswic and urged fairness in dealing with the Danes, not one has been known to advocate a division according to nationality and the return to Denmark of the northern districts. All appear to agree that wherever the German flag has once been raised it cannot again be hauled down.

If such, then, are the ideal and the goal, pretexts will easily be found. The arguments advanced in justification of the annexation of Sleswic, and its political sequel, may be grouped under the following heads: (1) geographical, (2) ethnical, (3) historico-political, and (4) cultural.

#### I. THE GEOGRAPHICAL ARGUMENT.

Sleswic, it is asserted, is needed to "round off" the domains of the empire. It is part of the German mainland, a continuation northward of German Holstein, no natural barrier of any kind separating the "twin duchies." No geographical line can be drawn between the two nationalities, which, furthermore, largely overlap, making any scheme of division impracticable.

This, were it true, would seem a somewhat artificial defense of forbidding the singing of Danish songs and the wearing of Danish colors. Moreover, is not the division of populations on geographical lines a device which might with profit be relegated

among the relics of a past age? But a glance at the map will convince any unprejudiced observer that it is not so. Sleswic is an integral part of the Cimbrian peninsula, the southward extension of Danish Jutland, field joining to field and forests being cut into halves where the political ditch has been dug. And as to the narrow belt where Danish and German meet—let the majority rule. Such a line of demarkation would not only be theoretically just, but also easy of determination and practically well defined, as witness the percentage map inserted above.

## II. THE ETHNICAL ARGUMENT.

But, it has been alleged, racially the people are Germans; the Sleswicians are Low Germans like the Holsteinians.

This is the plea of ignorance, betraying an utter lack of acquaintance with real conditions, and scarcely worth refuting. As Sleswic geographically is part of Jutland, so its people ethnically and linguistically belong to the same stock as the northern Jutes—*i. e.*, they are Danes, Scandinavians, in racial traits and in speech. In rural North Sleswic this stock is absolutely pure; the family tree of the Dane has no branches pointing southward. And even south of the Sleswic "Mason and Dixon line" the population still exhibits all the marks of an essentially Danish origin—the facial characteristics, the patronymics. The North Sleswic popular idiom is chemically free from German admixtures; and the place-names—those incorruptible witnesses—throughout the length and breadth of the land are hopelessly Danish, though oftentimes caricatured almost beyond identification by Prussian spelling reformers. And those grand old monuments, the rune stones, of which several have been unearthed in the southernmost part of the province, bear mute but unimpeachable testimony to the fact that nine hundred years ago this country was Danish and Danish men were engaged in the same struggle, with the same foe, for the maintenance of their land and their language.

## III. THE HISTORICO-POLITICAL ARGUMENT.

Germany has a historic right to Sleswic, it is claimed.

Since from the dawn of history down to 1864 Sleswic has

never for a single day passed out of actual possession of the Danish crown, this right must be of a different nature from that claimed to Alsace-Lorraine—German territory reverting to the mother-country after a long period of estrangement. Behind the phrase “historic right” there lurks in reality another idea. It is charged that Denmark through misrule and abuse of her German wards forfeited her title to the province, and that the Danish population is now simply being paid back in coin of Denmark’s own mintage—with interest added.

Does one wrong, then, justify another? Must punishment be meted out to innocent people for mistakes committed by their government in years gone by? If this rule were to hold, where would the Germans themselves be today?

But as to the facts in the matter, let these things be noted:

It is true that for long centuries Sleswic was treated as a step-child in the Danish household. Ever since the times of Charlemagne a buffer against German aggressions, it suffered the fate of all border provinces. Away back in the Middle Ages the kings of Denmark sliced it up into fiefs for younger sons to keep them from plotting against the throne. Matrimonial alliances between these and the Holstein counts led to close political relations; and thus the trouble began. In course of time a sort of quasi-sovereignty was obtained by the Sleswic dukes, more or less reluctantly acknowledged by their Danish suzerains. Constant intrigues and family feuds added fuel to the flame. Aided by the old historic doctrine of the “inseparableness” of Sleswic and Holstein, a strong separatistic sentiment—the so-called “Sleswic-Holsteinism”—developed, aiming at independence under the protectorate of the North German Confederation, to which Holstein, though a part of the Danish monarchy, belonged since 1815. These aspirations were winked at by Germany; and finally in 1848 the Danish government, which by its indifference had so long been sowing the wind of particularism, reaped the whirlwind of open rebellion. It took three years to quell the insurrection; and the fire of discontent still smoldered in the ashes. In 1864 the separatists hailed Germany as liberator and fought valiantly under her banner.



Bismarck, however, instead of setting up another German petty state, preferred to keep the spoils.

During all these vicissitudes the Danes in North Sleswic had remained steadfastly loyal. Placed in the unenviable position of having to protect themselves at once against the obtrusions of an inflated Sleswic-Holsteinism, on one side, and the deplorable consequences of systematic neglect at the hands of the rulers at Copenhagen, on the other, they never for a moment wavered in their fidelity to their national traditions. But with their every right ignored by their own government; with German established as the official language of central Sleswic, even where the Germans were in absolute minority; and with the officials all German-trained at Kiel, German-speaking, and German-sympathizing, the result became inevitable: Low German speech and German sentiment crept slowly, stealthily northward.

It was not until the beginning of the past century that Danish statesmen grew alarmed at this situation. Decrees were issued designed to arrest the invasion. But, the local authorities failing to co-operate, these soon became dead letters. Fifty years later, at the close of the rebellion, they were revived and amended, and stringent measures were adopted looking to their enforcement.

The substance of these rescripts was that in the purely German districts German, and in the purely Danish, Danish, should be exclusively used; in the mixed districts, where Danish was "spoken by the populace," this language was to be employed in the instruction of the children, who were to have four hours weekly of German; and alternately with German in the churches. At the same time, the Sleswic-Holsteinian officials were replaced by Danes, and special governmental organs were created for the province, independently of Holstein.

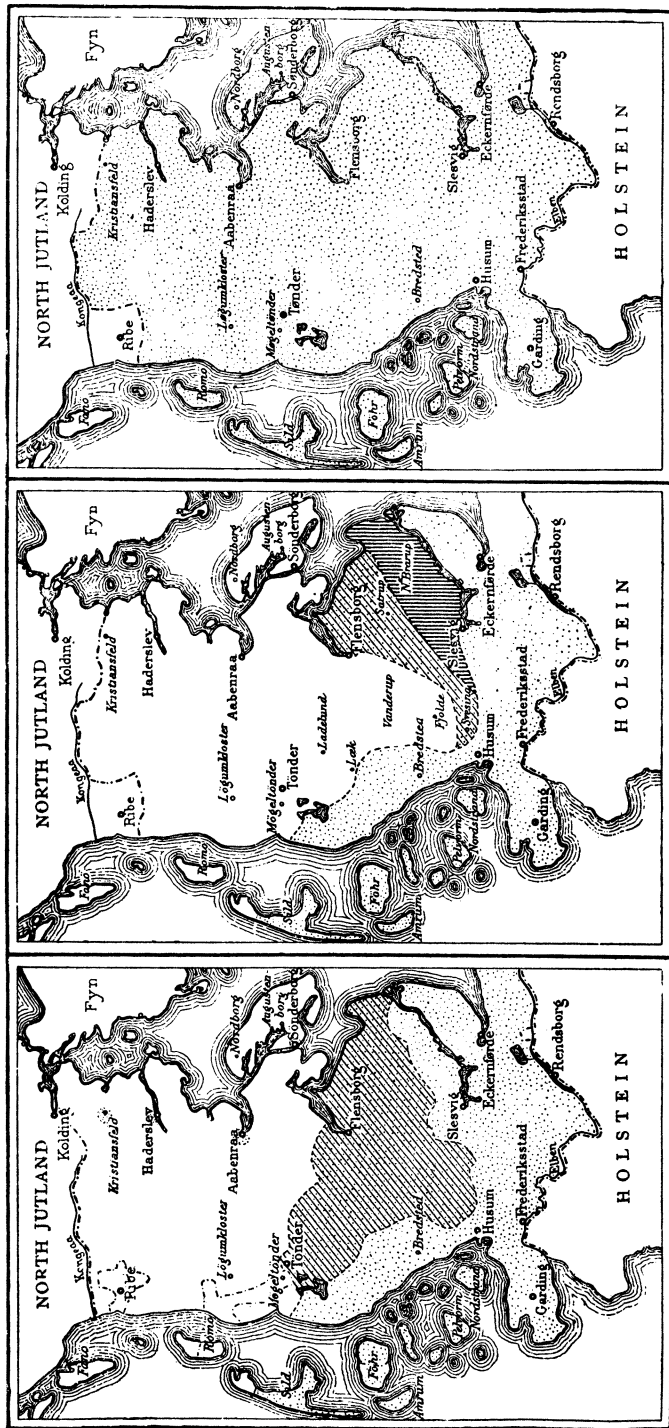
This arrangement seems fair on its face, and there was an unquestionable intention that it should be fairly carried out. However, the clause, "where Danish is spoken by the populace," presented a loophole for any who might be disposed to take advantage of it. As a matter of fact, by the construction put upon it by certain over-zealous administrators, whose patriotism

got the better of their discretion, Danish was made church and school language in several districts where it was spoken by a minority only, contrary to the spirit of the ordinances. Thus in Angeln, whose originally Danish population had become alienated as a consequence of the purblind policy of the Danish government, an attempt was made to regain the lost ground upon the same principle as is now underlying the German propaganda in Alsace-Lorraine. The tenability of this "historic right" dogma may well be drawn in question. In Sleswic, at any rate, the mistakes it fostered were few and of short duration. Neither in point of time and extension of territory, nor in severity, can a parallel justly be drawn between the acts of the Danish government in those days and the coercive measures of the present Prussian régime. This is openly admitted by unbiased Germans. It was for voicing this conviction that Professor Delbrück was disciplined. "What the Danes then did in Sleswic," he wrote, "was mere child's play compared with the violence with which we ourselves now rule that country." A glance at the appended map—which is self-explanatory—will demonstrate how true to the facts this statement is. From a Danish Tillisch in 1851 to a German von Köller in 1899 is a pretty far cry.

Yet, mistakes were made—and realized. Already in 1852 the language ordinances were amended. An honest effort was made to incorporate such provisions as would "insure perfect equality and efficient protection to both Danish and German nationalities." According to the new rescript, all laws and administrative announcements were to be promulgated in both languages; in the legislature, all communications by the government were to be read, and all debates reported, in both, while the deputies were at liberty to use either. All departments of the administration, secular and ecclesiastical, as well as the court of appeal, were subject to the same rule, and all examinations of candidates for office were to be conducted in Danish and German both. In regard to the "mixed" districts, Danish was made the language of the school, but with a liberal provision for instruction in German; while in the churches the two languages were to alternate, and in the local courts of justice the use of either was permitted at the choice of the defendant.

# MAP II.

COMPARING THE DANISH LANGUAGE ARRANGEMENT OF 1851 WITH THE PRUSSIAN ARRANGEMENT OF TODAY.



THE DANISH ARRANGEMENT OF 1850-51.

ACTUAL LANGUAGE CONDITIONS 1884.

THE PRUSSIAN ARRANGEMENT OF 1888.

Could a more liberal, a more uniformly just, scheme have been devised? Where else in the world, in countries of mixed races and languages, did then—do now—similar conditions prevail? What other European nation has in modern times shown such toleration, such magnanimity, toward its foreign, hostile elements? Certainly not Germany. And yet Germans never tire of upbraiding Denmark and the Danes for what they did in Sleswic prior to 1864, which, they say, by the law of retribution, played the province into their hands—to have and to hold!

#### IV. THE CULTURAL ARGUMENT.

It has always been a favorite theory with a large class of German expansionists that, the two cultures being essentially alike—with the superiority rather on the side of the German—once the Danes in North Sleswic made up their minds to bow to the inevitable and become Germans in speech and thought, they would find the transition comparatively easy and in every way to their advantage. The annexation of Sleswic being an accomplished fact, they argue, and one not likely ever to be reversed, the population has everything to lose and nothing to gain by a continued clinging to their Danish traditions, when they might, with hardly any effort on their part, become sharers in the glories of Germany's greatness. To them the relation of Danish to German culture is very much the same as that of Dutch or Flemish—a sort of offshoot or satellite, whose insistence upon separate maintenance is nothing but sheer folly.

This argument would not be without weight, provided the premises hold. Recent history has clearly demonstrated the existence of vast numbers of enlightened and liberal-thinking people the world over viewing with equanimity or open approbation the consequences of a war waged by a stronger against a weaker power, on the theory that the success of its arms would be in the interest of a broad civilization and to the ultimate benefit of the conquered nation itself. To others it would seem as if the prevailing sentiment, expressed "in indubitable manner and constantly"—to quote Prince Bismarck—of a given population ought at any time to decide its political dependence,

regardless of geographical, ethnical, or historical affinities; and that the integrity of any nation capable of independence ought ideally to be safeguarded against attacks from without, and the right acknowledged of any part of such nation, forcibly cut loose from the mother-stem, to cherish a hope of, and by fair means work for, a reunion.

However, this may be debatable ground. In the meantime the burden of proof respecting Denmark as an intellectual dependency rests with the Germans. So far no evidence has been forthcoming. The best-informed among them concede the impossibility of furnishing it, the contention itself being untenable.

Nothing in reality could be farther from the truth. In a brief glance at the various aspects of the national culture of the Danes, let us first look at—

1. *The language.*—Here the analogy from Holland—which, by the way, has never shown any pronounced anxiety to join its fortune with that of the Prussian household—will be found to be no analogy at all, because, while Dutch sustains a similar relation to German as, say, Portuguese to Spanish, Danish can with no more right be regarded as a branch of German than English could be classed as a Romance language on account of the Latin elements it contains.

True, the two are akin. Both spring from the same Gothic parent-stem. Many roots they have in common. A direct descendant of Old Norse, Danish was more than the other Scandinavian idioms exposed to Germanic influences owing to adjacency of territory and close commercial relations. This propinquity has naturally left its mark on the vocabulary of the language. During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, when it was as yet in its swaddling-clothes as a literary medium, the indifference of a semi-German court and a foreign-bred aristocracy caused it to be swamped by a flood of German and French importations. Although this current was dammed before it had wrought irremediable havoc, it goes without saying that the elements thus absorbed during its formative stages became so deeply ingrained in its very organism that later attempts at

eradication have proved an extremely arduous task. Anglo-Saxon purifiers of the English tongue will appreciate this difficulty. While the weeding-out process is continually going on, led by able linguists and men of letters, German loan-words still abound, clad in Danish garb and naturalized. It would thus be futile to deny that the Danish language is indebted to its German neighbor; but it is not the indebtedness of a child to a mother or even an older sister; rather that to a midwife and a nurse.

The two are akin. But between modern High German and Danish, as it is today spoken and written by the educated classes, there is a wide gulf of differences in form and structure, in sound and genius. The Danish sentence construction is simple and direct as in English, not involved and labored like the German. Danish is rounded and smooth, with a tendency to slur and a strong predilection for soft consonants; German is rugged and pebbly, inclined toward hardness, harshness. In consonance with the national character of the two peoples, Danish is supple and conversationally easy — lyrically tender; German stiff and majestic, rhetorically ponderous — epically stirring. In the armory of dialectics Danish supplies the rapier of irony, German the war-club of pathos. Danish has been called the most subdued language in the world; the very core of German is robustness and force. German is an Alpine torrent, Danish a serene brook. The storm-swept pines of the Black Forest breathe through the German's songs; the lyre of the Dane is tuned by the balmy breeze from the beech woods of his low, green isles.

Which of the two offers the better vehicle for the expression of thoughts and feelings, in verse and prose, must remain a matter of individual taste. In any comparison allowance must be made for the national equation. Either is indissolubly wedded to, and must be seen in the light of, at the same time that it reflects, the national character which forged it. No touchstone has as yet been discovered for testing the relative merits of different languages as bearers of culture other than the degree of adequacy to which the products of culture have found utterance in them and through their medium been made accessible to all who master them. But the Dane who should venture the asser-

tion that his mother-tongue is fully the equal of German in that respect would probably not be sharply criticised by anyone familiar with the literatures in both.

2. *The literature.*—In drawing parallels in the literary field it must be remembered how seriously handicapped is the author writing in a language understood by but a few million people. Beyond the narrow confines of his native state known, if at all, through translations only, in whose approximations the essence of his stylistic individuality — so intimately bound up with the medium of expression — is always volatilized and often entirely lost, he enters the arena under conditions making a full appreciation next to impossible. Taking due account of this fact, it may well be questioned whether, aside from the three great language areas — English, French, and German — any nation, irrespective of size, has ever unfolded a more prolific and variegated, yet withal original and strong, literary activity than this little people numbering barely two million and a half. True, Denmark has not produced a Shakespeare. Neither has Germany. But Oehlenschläger, the greatest literary genius of the North, though inferior to Goethe in versatility and depth, has created works which in poetic qualities and mastery of language will bear comparison with those of the Weimar statesman-poet. The playwright Holberg, who in the eighteenth century became the founder of the Danish stage, has no rival in Germany in dramatic force and caustic wit.

The "golden age" of Danish literature, covering the last decades of the eighteenth and the first half of the nineteenth century, like that of Germany coincided with a period of political distress and economic depression. To the generations of brilliant writers, of the then prevailing romantic school, which sprang up in those years, inspired by national ideals and extending over the whole range of literary categories, belong, besides that of Oehlenschläger, such names as Ewald and Baggesen, Grundtvig and Ingemann, Heiberg and Hertz, Hauch and Paludan-Müller, Steen Blicher and Goldschmidt, Aarestrup and Christian Winther — names all of which would be classed among the best in the literature of any country.

Of all Danish authors the most widely known is, however, Hans Christian Andersen, not so much because of the especial greatness of his genius — Denmark has produced greater poets — as owing to its peculiar quality, rendering his works in an eminent sense cosmopolitan and his place in the world-literature one of absolute uniqueness. His fairy-tales have been translated into a score of languages and are read by every American child.

In more recent years the novelist J. P. Jacobsen has revealed to the reading world the polish and pliability of the Danish language as a literary tool. No writer has handled it with greater skill, none with such infinite tenderness. His two volumes are linguistic as well as literary milestones. Being utterly untranslatable, foreigners have learned Danish solely in order to read him; while in Germany several prosaists of the younger school are admittedly influenced by his style.

The songs of Drachmann, "the bard of the sea," reverberate throughout the sea-encircled plains of Denmark, and far beyond. Modern Germany can point to no lyricist of his talent or originality.

Georg Brandes, the æsthetician, whose fervent enthusiasm, the astounding sweep and penetrating keenness of whose lucid intellect, and whose unswerving devotion to his cause in the face of thirty years' ruthless opposition have left their indelible imprint upon the present generation, not only of writers, but of all spiritually interested men and women, in Scandinavia and in ever-widening circles in other lands; who has liberated, in that he has liberalized, literary — and, through reaction, to an appreciable degree political — Denmark from the bondage of conservatism and stagnation — is universally recognized as the greatest living critic. It is to be regretted that so few of his works have been translated into English. His *William Shakespeare*, however, is found on the shelves of every student of the Stratford sage. Brandes, while freely acknowledging his indebtedness to the literature and philosophy of the Germans — with whom his works are extremely popular, and who have made repeated attempts to appropriate him as one of their own — like modern Danish writers generally, does not conceal his preference for French spirit and French *belles-lettres*.



In this connection probably the Norwegians Björnson and Ibsen ought to be mentioned. Norway may, in a sense, be said to belong to the Danish culture area. The cultural development of the two nations, after their political separation in 1814, has followed closely parallel lines; the literary language of Norway is still prevailingly Danish, and the works of her leading authors are published in Copenhagen, which remains the intellectual center of Scandinavia. Excepting Tolstoï and Zola, no littérateur of today enjoys a wider international reputation than the two great Norwegians. Everybody in America has heard of them, and multitudes have read one or another of their books. In Germany Ibsen especially has exerted a powerful influence upon contemporary thought and fiction, which is being ungrudgingly admitted on all sides.

3. *Science*.—In the domain of science Denmark has always kept pace with the world's progress, and in not a few instances has contributed notably to its advancement. The University of Copenhagen holds high rank among European institutions of learning, both as a professional school and as the home of scholars eminent in original research. Of names too many for enumeration a few only of the most prominent must be mentioned. It was the Danish astronomer Tycho Brahe upon whose observations Kepler based his laws; it was the Dane Ole Römer who first measured the velocity of light; it was the Danish physicist Oersted who discovered electro-magnetism, thereby paving the way for Morse's telegraph. The sciences of geology and archæology were founded in Denmark by Steno (Steensen) and Worsaae, respectively. In recent years the introduction by a Danish scientist of the ecological method has revolutionized the study of botany. Rasmus Rask has been called the father of comparative philology; after him Madvig attained world-wide fame for his work in the classical languages. Among philosophers Kierkegaard, Martensen, and Höffding are known in America. Around the name of the first-mentioned—a strikingly original thinker—a whole literature has of late years grown up in Germany.

*The fine arts*.—Here it is sufficient to remind of the fact that

Denmark was the birth-place of Thorvaldsen, the most famous sculptor in modern times. Pervading all the works of this great artist, however much influenced by classical models, "there was something essentially Danish, something taken from the blood of his nation, which was thus made to circulate through the veins of Europe," writes Julius Lange, the distinguished art critic. A worthy representative of contemporary Danish art was known to Americans in the person of the late Rohl-Smith, the talented young sculptor whose unfinished Sherman statue in Washington is declared by connoisseurs to be one of the finest monuments in the United States. Also an important and virile national school of painting is flourishing in Denmark, comprising many names of continental renown, conspicuous among which is that of Krøyer, easily the peer, and supposedly the superior, of any living German painter. At the same time, the artistic instinct has penetrated every layer of the population, systematically encouraged by the national and municipal authorities, as well as by private munificence, which in Denmark, as in Europe generally, seeks a favorite outlet in this particular field. The Danish Carnegie, a Copenhagen brewer, has donated to his native city art treasures worth millions.

5. *The press*.—The press of Denmark is thoroughly modern in spirit and a power that must be reckoned with. In proportion to population, it has nearly twice the circulation of that of any other country. Four-fifths of all the newspapers are affiliated with the democratic parties—affording in this a striking contrast to journalistic conditions in Germany.

Among Danish journalists one name stands out in bold relief, viz., that of Hørup, Denmark's greatest political genius. This thoroughbred, uncompromising radical, in his speeches as member of Parliament, but especially in his masterful daily leaders in his paper, the *Politiken*, in which he developed a style peculiarly his own—absolutely devoid of invectives, but relying solely upon the effect of irony and satire—for twenty-five years waged incessant war against the forces of reaction and militarism, thereby contributing more than any other single person to the political renaissance of his people; only to suffer the pathetic fate

of so many great leaders—dying at the verge of the wilderness, in view of the promised land they burned their lives out striving for. German journalism, past and present, can boast no talent such as Hörup's.

6. *Popular education*.—While the ability to read and write may not be accepted as a decisive criterion for the diffusion of education among the masses of a people, an entire absence of illiteracy can but be counted to its credit. This is the condition in Denmark today. Elementary education has been free and compulsory since 1814. Her public-school system equals, if it does not excel, that of any other European country, and in certain respects compares favorably with that of the United States.

But the popular demand for knowledge is not satisfied herewith. What are known as "people's high schools" (*Folkehøjskoler*), to the number of about 150, have been established in all parts of the land. This typically Danish form of secondary schools—which has been copied to some extent by Sweden and Norway, but is without counterpart elsewhere in the world—originated about the middle of the last century with the prelate-poet-reformer Grundtvig, and is primarily intended for the rural youth; and here thousands of young men during the winter months, and of women in summer, broaden their education and view of life by popular courses, principally in the natural sciences, history, and literature. Characteristic also is the fact that the *Frem*, a periodical for popularized science, in the first year of its existence obtained 80,000 subscribers. The educational and philanthropic activities of the Liberal Students' Society of Copenhagen—in leading, free of cost, largely attended classes and publishing, at a nominal price, series of pamphlets for the instruction of workingmen desirous of extending their knowledge along special lines, and in giving free legal advice to, and conducting the cases of, multitudes of poor people—have served as models for similar institutions in various parts of Europe.

7. *Politics*.—The Danish farmers are an intelligent, self-reliant, prosperous race, in an eminent sense the bone and sinew of the nation. In social and political development they are fully fifty years ahead of the bulk of their German neigh-

bors, and as a class it may well be doubted whether they have any equals anywhere. Thoroughly imbued with the spirit of democracy and home-rule, their interest in politics is intense. In their local administrative councils they train themselves in parliamentary functions, and enter the larger field of national politics skilled in debate and tactics. Of the members of the lower house (*Folkething*) of Parliament (*Rigsdag*) one-half are practical farmers, many of them men of marked ability. A plain farmer holds the portfolio of minister of agriculture in the present Liberal cabinet.

The constitution of 1849 guarantees free institutions, universal suffrage, and equality for all before the law. Its original framers meant it to be one of the freest in Europe. Its spirit was, however, perverted and its intentions largely thwarted by the tenacious resistance of the conservative interests—the landed proprietors and the bureaucracy—that held the reins of power and for thirty years defied the will of an overwhelming majority of the people. No other nation, perhaps, would peaceably have submitted to a rule by such absurdly small a minority or to such flagrant violations of constitutional rights. The Danes, patient and persistent as they are, confined their warfare to parliamentary maneuvers. An opportunistic alliance was formed against the common foe by the Left and Social Democratic parties. Every new election thinned the ranks of the reactionaries. Finally, in July of last year, when the number of Rightist representatives in the Folkething had dwindled down to 8 (out of a total of 114)—of whom 1 (out of 11) from the city of Copenhagen, their old-time stronghold—they had come to the end of their tether, and old King Christian bowed to the inevitable by appointing a cabinet of radicals—sons of the people. The victory, late in arriving, was the more decisive and amounted in reality to a bloodless revolution. Under the firm pilotage of the present government the Danish ship of state has been successfully launched upon the sea of political progress, and the Danish people will henceforth take their place in the front rank of nations in which the problems of modern democracy are being worked out.

8. *Economic conditions.*—After the disastrous war of 1864 the Danes beat their swords into plowshares. Their every nerve was strained toward recovering within what had been lost without. How well they have succeeded may partially be judged from the following data:

The population has increased until now it is equal to that of the whole monarchy before the loss of the duchies. Besides this, a surplus contingent of some 200,000 has during these years sought new homes across the ocean, where they have become a thrifty, progressive element in the community wherever they have settled, in fullest accord with American sentiment and institutions, through a process of natural, elective adaptation.

A tract of heaths and moors equivalent to one-tenth of the entire area of the country has been converted into grain-fields and plantations. Methods of agriculture have been modernized, processes rationalized, new markets opened up. The co-operative system has almost entirely supplanted individual enterprise, tending to make the farmers independent of outside capital. Co-operative dairies, slaughter-houses, consumers' societies, savings banks, insurance associations, experiment farms, stock-improving centers, literally litter the land—all managed by the farmers themselves. It is the boast of the Danes that they lead the world in agriculture. "There is no country in Europe that produces so much food as Denmark in reference to population or to area, the ratio being higher than that of the United States and more than double the general European ratio."<sup>1</sup> Danish dairy products hold a supremacy on the English market,<sup>2</sup> and everywhere command the highest prices. Only 8 per cent. of the land is owned by landlords, and the number of landless cottagers is decreasing year by year, thanks to a judicious system of parcellation supervised by the government.

Next to England, Denmark has the greatest per capita wealth of any country in the world. Practically half the popu-

<sup>1</sup> Mulhall. Most of the figures on which the statements in this section are based have been taken from MULHALL, *Handbook of Statistics*.

<sup>2</sup> The value of the export of Danish butter to Great Britain alone rose from \$3,836,000 in 1870 to \$40,146,000 in 1900 (= \$18 per capita of the population).

lation has savings-bank accounts, the average deposit being higher than that of any other European nation. The national debt is relatively small, the per capita amount being about equal to that of the United States; and the national finances rest on a thoroughly sound basis, the income covering the expenditures. An important asset are the 1,800 miles of railroad, nearly all owned and operated by the state.

Denmark shares with New Zealand the distinction of being the first to introduce a general system of old-age pensions.

The workingmen of Denmark have formed powerful trades unions, as ready, perhaps, to make terms with capital as those of any other country in Europe. Wages generally range higher than elsewhere on the continent; and the principle of arbitration of labor disputes has been legislatively recognized. Though predominatingly of socialistic tendencies, the large labor party has taken its place among parliamentary factions, and, under able and opportunistic leaders, has become a strong factor in politics.

Conditions of soil, in connection with an absolute absence of raw materials, rendering agriculture the chief occupation and source of wealth of her people, one would not look for important industrial interests in Denmark. However, Copenhagen is rapidly developing into a manufacturing center. At her ship-yards are built most of the vessels of the home merchant marine and of the Danish war fleet, besides lately also men-of-war for foreign nations. Of other industries of more than local significance may be mentioned the Danish art-industrial articles and the Copenhagen porcelain, which by virtue of original design and artistic execution have gained a high reputation in the marts of the world.

But that the commercial spirit has not been slumbering is evidenced by the fact that the tonnage of the merchant navy has trebled since 1870, and now surpasses that of such an old sea-faring nation as Holland and is more than half as large as Russia's; while the Danish United Steamship Company in respect to number of vessels is the largest in the world. The Great Northern Telegraph Company, covering northern and eastern Asia with its network of wires, is a Danish enterprise. Late years

have witnessed a notable stimulation of Danish shipping interests, which have resolutely entered the field of trans-oceanic competition, tending to vindicate for Copenhagen, backed by her excellent new free port, her historic position as the commercial center of the Baltic.

It will thus be seen that in the economic progress of the last decades Denmark has not lagged behind. Side by side with, but independent of, the phenomenal growth of German commerce and industry, her own development has been the more remarkable since it has been accomplished in spite of—or because of?—a low-tariff policy, in marked contrast to the dominant ideals of the German empire, whose protectionistic barriers have practically closed the German market to Danish products. As modern Denmark more and more looks to Anglo-Saxon models in politics and social reform, so commercial conditions have steadily served to strengthen the ties uniting her with her kinsfolk across the sea.

Here the case may rest. Can a people such as this be classed among the decadent nations of the world? Can it be justly charged with being on that downward grade which must needs end in extinction or oblivion? The facts above enumerated will not bear out such theory. Reduced to a footnote in the text-books on geography, to a pigmy among countries, Denmark is today a factor, stronger than ever before, in the world's intellectual advancement.

Left to herself, she will keep her place in the van. At peace with her neighbors, with nothing to fear from an outward foe, she will continue to progress along lines of democratic culture and enlightened liberality. Hers is not a dying race; her culture not in decay.

For years after the war, while yet bleeding from many wounds, there were resentment and bitterness in her feelings toward Germany. That was but natural. Germany was the hereditary enemy; her unjustified attack and later breach of faith were not apt to make Danes adore her name—or the spirit making such things possible. Quietly Denmark cherished the

hope of reunion with North Sleswic—perhaps through a general settlement of outstanding scores demanded by voices mightier than hers. And if she quietly prepared herself for her part in the drama, who will blame her?

But gradually the conviction grew upon a small group of Liberals that this unfriendly attitude was fraught with political peril. While not favoring Germans as Germans, they were mindful of the kinship between the two nations, and of Denmark's manifold indebtedness to her great neighbor; they perceived the folly of this traditional ill-feeling; they realized the necessity of Germany's good-will for Denmark's future safety.

They spoke and they wrote.<sup>1</sup> The gospel they preached was not a popular one, and they were branded as unpatriotic. But they persevered. They denounced the building of fortifications and armor-clads. "What is the use," Hörup asked year after year, "of throwing our poor millions into the jaws of an insatiable militarism? We cannot hope to defend ourselves." He was cried down as a coward. But he persevered.

Increasing numbers saw that he was right. His negative "What's the use?" with its sober, forsaken sound, from the watchword of a faction became the slogan of a party. Now Hörup is dead. But he lived just long enough to witness the triumph of the two causes for which he had fought so nobly—a government for and by the people, and the realization by his country that its rôle as a military power was forever at an end. Today the "traitor" is recognized as the truest of patriots, and

<sup>1</sup>GEORG BRANDES, in an article entitled "Denmark and Germany," published in *Contemporary Review*, July, 1899, makes reference to this movement, in which he himself was one of the leading spirits. MISS SARAH E. SIMONS, in her article "Social Assimilation" (*AMERICAN JOURNAL OF SOCIOLOGY*, May, 1901, p. 809), in referring to conditions in Sleswic quotes Dr. Brandes as authority for the statement that "the Danes in Schleswig acquiesced readily in the unjust demands of Germany, and submitted gracefully to their fate. A group of politicians and writers was formed among them to take upon themselves the task of creating sentiment for Germany. What race-antipathy there was soon died out in consequence, and the work of adjustment and assimilation was successfully begun." This rests upon a misapprehension of Dr. Brandes's remarks, which applied to Denmark, not to Sleswic, and is very misleading as to actual conditions. There has never been "acquiescence" in Sleswic, never an attempt by any group to "create sentiment for Germany."



his thoughts are the thoughts of Denmark—not only of liberal and governmental, but largely of military Denmark as well.

Peace with the world, and with Germany first of all, at all costs and for all time to come; an absolute, permanent, guaranteed neutrality, similar to that of Belgium and Switzerland—and possibly with the two great Anglo-Saxon nations as sponsors—with just enough of armament to emphasize, but not to *defend*, it; no “entangling alliances” of any sort with anybody, however tempting the terms, but a consistent keeping aloof from all international embroilments of whatever kind; not too much faith in the saving virtues of matrimonial unions with heads of reigning houses; but trust to the future on the basis of an ever-growing inclination among the nations to listen to the dictates of justice in their mutual dealings, and of the universal recognition of Denmark as a factor in the world’s aggregate of social and cultural values the elimination of which would mean a loss to the whole—these are the lines along which will be drawn up the program for Denmark’s future foreign politics.

And as to Sleswic, the Danish people have not abandoned the hope that justice will yet prevail. They do not desire a reunion through the defeat and humiliation of Germany in a general European war; such a solution of the question would render the future forever insecure. But they watch with expectancy for every sign of the spread of wiser and more humane ideas among her people, which in due time may ripen into a recognition of the wrong done and a demand for its rectification through a *voluntary* restoration to Denmark of what, by every moral law, is hers. By such a course Germany would gain in Denmark—and through her in all Scandinavia—a firm and grateful friend, and in the world at large a host of true admirers.

Sane counsel has won the day in Denmark. Loyally she accepts the situation created by the war. The *de facto* government of Sleswic she acknowledges as the *de jure* rulers. This is politics. But above the exigencies of politics loom the demands of equity. There are Germans enough who deplore, and are willing to admit it, the tactics of the Prussian government in North Sleswic, and who ardently wish for a cessation of the age-

long, unnatural enmity between the two related peoples. These should not forget how infinitely difficult the present mode of administration has rendered the task of those who in Denmark urge conciliation and amity. When every approach on the part of Denmark is met by a fresh outrage in Sleswic, it is small wonder that the advocates of friendly relations sometimes halt and hesitate. The rapid abatement of the indignation caused by the expulsion policy among large classes of Germans, coupled with certain later developments, has warned the Danish people against being too sanguine in their reliance on German public sentiment.

Naturally, then, they turn to the outside world. With as strong a voice as the weaker, who knows himself to be in the right, can command in addressing the stronger, Denmark will say to Germany: "Be just! Do not stoop to measures unworthy of a great people and a civilized nation!" And in this she desires and hopes for the moral support of all liberal-thinking, liberty-loving individuals the world over. Humanity cannot afford to view with indifference such measures of suppressing a nationality as are now being employed against the Danes in North Sleswic, who are bound and gagged and treated like a band of criminals for no worse fault than their refusal to abandon their language and their national traditions. The sense of justice of the world at large must be invoked, must step in, must speak to the conscience of the German nation, in terms so unambiguous that every German cheek reddens with the blush of shame.

The United States of America have entered the arena of international politics. Their mighty voice will be heard with increasing frequency in the councils of the nations; and, wherever heard, it will be heeded. By their magnanimous treatment of Cuba they have pointed the way and set a precedent that is bound to be of far-reaching importance. More and more, in years to come, will every oppressed, downtrodden people on the face of the globe look to liberal America for sympathy and succor.

With the object of placing before an American public the facts in one such case of international injustice, these pages have been written.

LOUIS WARMING.

CHICAGO.